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The National Spirit of Japan

A CONTRIBUTION TO SPIRITUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS

By S. HONAGA

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THIS LITTLE VOLUME
IS DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR
TO
ALL HIS TEACHERS AND FRIENDS
WHOM HE LOVES AND ESTEEMS

" *Freundschaft ist Liebe mit Verstand.*"

" *The man you don't like is the man you don't know.*"

Some of the contents of this book have appeared as articles in *The Inquirer, The Link, The Journal of Education, The Ploughshare, The Christian Commonwealth, The Christian Life,* and *The Quest,* but have been revised and expanded by the author, and are now published for the first time in volume form.

PREFACE

In this volume the author has investigated the National Spirit of the Japanese as a nation in its international relations, pursuing the ideal that in order to reform the present attitude of any nation towards foreign countries and secure a New Nationalism each country should, in the first place, penetrate much deeper than at present is the case into the foundation of its own National Spirit, and there discover the common bond of nations. And by bringing into light the real Japanese, and things Japanese, he has intended to make some contribution to the International Morality of the future and mutual understanding between nations.

To attain the aim above mentioned, the author had first of all to discuss things Japanese which have been misunderstood by the world up to the present. But this means nothing more than stating facts as they are, even though they are not yet known to the world at large. Again, what he says about Shinto, Bushido, etc., is no more than his personal views concerning these. There may be many Japanese who

hold quite different views on these subjects. It is a matter of course, then, that foreigners should not take his statements to represent any large body of Japanese sentiment.

Some dissatisfaction with regard to the contents of this book the writer is expecting, and he further anticipates from his friends their criticism of its shortcomings. Certain practical considerations relating to the present war have of necessity affected the general nature of the volume, but it is hoped that readers will sympathise with the writer's sincerity in his wish for better future relations between the Japanese and other nations.

Concerning the publication of this volume, the author owes his sincere thanks to Mr. F. H. Cutcliffe, of Oxford, who read carefully the text, and was kind enough to correct the English with unwearying assistance; also to Dr. W. T. Hewett, of New York, and Dr. Tudor Jones, of Bristol, both of whom gave him much useful advice.

November 1*st*, 1916.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Causes and Effects of Misunderstanding.

Owing to the fact that man loves and seeks for truth, and yet often misunderstands it, what countless people have wasted precious human energy, time, and fortune in the quest. The seeds of innumerable tragedies are sown by such misunderstandings; and how terrible is their effect on the people who growl at and curse their burdens we can see in the miseries which afflict the world day by day in the round of our ordinary life. But what seem most of all disastrous are THE FACTS ACCOMPANYING THE SELF-EVOLUTION OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS. For a mistaken idea not only leads to failure in action, but this misunderstanding, by giving birth to another, enlarges itself like a snowball; even a tiny misunderstanding, when once it is conceived, evolves itself and widens its scope more and more till its results appear to be infinite.

Such misunderstandings are not confined to individuals, they arise also between nations. But it should be remembered that in the case of nations the misunderstanding is more complex and the evils

accruing are consequently greater. There is a German saying : " Misverstand verwirrt das Land " (" Misunderstanding confuses the land "). It is indeed mutual misunderstandings between nations which are sometimes the causes of the breaking up of international peace ; they become the fuse of desolating wars, and for whole continents of people turn the friendship of yesterday into the hatred of to-day ; they lead millions of innocent men to sacrifice their valuable lives on field or mountain, while at home their women weep tears of blood. The misunderstanding which clouds the mutual friendship of nations may at first be trifling, but suspicion soon creates a dislike which, with the psychology of the masses controlled by sentiment, may at any time kindle a flame of hatred that only torrents of blood can quench. Thus a misunderstanding, caused perhaps by a little folly, whether individual or national, unless rooted out in the beginning, forms in the mind an unbreakable chain of misunderstanding or illusion which binds the impartial free judgment.

But " the binding will not be loosed unless it is understood." If we would seek to remove such a misunderstanding, first of all we must clearly recognise as two distinct matters MISUNDERSTANDING AND RIGHT APPREHENSION, which are such close neighbours in our daily life, and we must

investigate the causes from which misunderstandings have originated. Nevertheless, the causes of misunderstanding in our life can never be regarded as simple. To apprehend rightly, in general, it is a matter of course that reliable and sufficient materials are indispensable, yet, in fact, there are many cases in which we cannot escape relying on insufficient materials or being contented with indirect evidence, on account of differences of language, natural difficulties, and other circumstances which offer few occasions for learning to know the reality concerning others. Not only the materials, but also the methods of thinking afford even unconscious provocations of misunderstanding; it can hardly be denied that there are many cases in which right apprehension is prevented, for instance, by partial or one-sided observation, which is considered to be complete, or by superficial and shallow knowledge, which is supposed to be penetrating, and there are also the various errors which occur in reasoning or judging. But besides all these we cannot help recognising that many misunderstandings have their rise in the special mental conditions of the subject, so that the same thing is regarded differently, according to the states of mind and feeling of the subject on a certain occasion, while everyone will admit that various errors may arise according to the special character, environment, career, habits,

education and other personal conditions of the subject. Finally, it need not be said how all these idols are multiplied and reinforced when the subject wears the coloured and distorting glasses of prejudice, suspicion, or hatred.

Knowing that the conditions which mislead our understandings are so various, we should surely realise how easily our apprehensions may be disturbed in every-day life, and, accordingly, attention and introspection should be close and unceasing in the endeavour after right apprehension, so that by gaining the right idea the ground of mistaken conviction may be removed. Otherwise it will be a necessary consequence that though a man's judgment may be right, yet he cannot see the context because of bias and prejudice ; or while he grasps a truth he may easily give it a wrong application.

II. The Japanese and the European and American Peoples ; their Mutual Understanding.

The principles on which alone we can understand other individuals are equally applicable for understanding other nations. But, in the latter case, what we ought especially to bear in mind are THE DIFFICULTIES OF APPREHENSION CONCERNING FOREIGNERS.

The relations between nations are more complex

than the relations between individuals, and therefore it is more difficult to understand other nations. Yet what prevents mutual understanding between nations, even more than this complexity, is the sentiment towards foreigners which lies embedded at the bottom of national consciousness. While civilised people depreciate the manners and customs of savages who without reason are afraid of or dislike strange things, they themselves often display elements of national prejudice of just the same quality. But when a nation impelled by this sentiment looks contemptuously at others, it forms a bar to any rational understanding, that mutual aid which is so important to our social life becomes impossible and the progress of civilisation is checked. Why did the pundits of the Jewish Church crucify even the Saviour Jesus Christ as a mischievous fanatic? Why did the Greeks of the fourth century B.C. poison the great Socrates as a dangerous perverter of youth? And for what reason did the people of the seventeenth century burn as a heretic that noble martyr for science, Giordano Bruno? "After the persecution is over people just manage to understand that the man who professed the strange doctrine was right." Persecutors are not necessarily evil-disposed persons, but they do not really understand the true substance of what they are persecuting. If this be so, then what nations, when failing to understand

other nations aright, and yet thinking themselves enlightened, can be guaranteed not to fall into the same error as these persecutors of the heterodox? The poet Goethe declares:—

"Wir sind gewohnt, dass die menschen verhoehnen, was sie nicht versteh'n."

("We are accustomed to the fact that people depreciate what they do not understand.")

Is not the nation which blindly reprobates another nation, after all, but proving that it is a stranger to that nation? Also is not the English saying—

"The man you don't like is the man you don't know"

equally applicable to a nation as to an individual?

It is a fact that of late Japan is gradually being more and more talked about by European and American people. But though many of the scholars who are introducing Japan to the world do so with wise and keen vision, their work is yet too recent to have succeeded in allaying the world's misunderstandings. Consequently, there is a great difference between Japan as she is reflected in Western eyes and Japan as she really is. For this reason there are yet very many people in the West who entirely neglect the problems of the Far East. Nevertheless, few things are more difficult to explain than the reason why civilised people, who are so convinced of the value of enlarging the range of human vision that they

make microscopes and telescopes to observe invisible animalculæ on the one side and heavenly bodies far beyond our view on the other, do not sufficiently extend their desire for knowledge to the oriental people who dwell on the same globe—as if they were content with only one hemisphere. But, further, if they either reject the study of Eastern races or try to press on them another religion, neglecting first of all to get an understanding of the foundation of the life and belief of the people, they can hardly hope for success. The greatest need of our times is, of course, the better mutual understanding of East and West; nothing is more likely to produce a happy effect on the future relations of the great Empires. And it will be too obvious for remark that in the present day, when development of the means of intercourse and correspondence is bringing nearer and nearer lands which were once far distant, the special study of that pressing problem of civilisation, the foreign relations of a country, is most important. Certainly, the *a priori* assumption that there is, for example, an impassable spiritual gulf between the Japanese and the European and American peoples, and that therefore they can never advance hand in hand together, is a serious position to take up, which clearly indicates that mutual understanding is not yet sufficiently penetrating.

Now it seems to me that two kinds or types

of understanding may be discerned. These are INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND SPIRITUAL UNDERSTANDING.

To make more intimate and friendly the relations of the world Powers in the present day, it is necessary first of all to sweep away the many prejudices towards other countries, and to get to understand one another sufficiently. To do this, though various inquiries and many investigations confined to intellectual interests are of course necessary, and may be interesting, yet acquaintance with these alone is not sufficient to make one nation appreciate the deeper, mutual, spiritual things which underlie another nation's life, and to cause these things to be shared in common. We must go a step farther and seek the real secure foundations for that true understanding which makes each feel a living friendship or life in mutual relations with the other. To satisfy this demand is impossible by intellectual understanding alone; it is essential to have a spiritual understanding also.

To prove beyond question the effect of spiritual understanding, the mutual attitudes of the nations up to this time must be entirely changed. In other words, when virulent censure of others proceeds from introspective reasoning, it is a matter of the utmost importance to awake to the danger of measuring other countries by our own measure only.

In this respect we ought primarily not to consider the more apparent material achievements of a people, but also to pay full attention to their spiritual life. That is, not only to glean individual facts concerning social events or fragmentary happenings which have been recorded in the history of politics, but furthermore study the dynamic life which produced the facts; not being content even with exhaustive consideration of the natural sciences, but investigating with no less ardour the morality and the belief, the ideals and the foundations of the real life of the nation.

Secondly, we must not only give attention to the spiritual life of the nation, but largely improve the methods and the spirit of our investigation. Though one "colours his fingers" in the study of religion or morality, he should not be content with the exhibition of moral theories or with impassively reading and objectively learning religious doctrines, the facts of religious history, etc. The faith and ideal which arise from the innermost spiritual nature of a nation are not to be truly evaluated by knowing the facts objectively. Unless one saturates himself, so to speak, in the inner life of other nations, seeing with their eyes, and realising their experiences and feelings with sincere sympathy as well as severe criticism, he can never understand their true state spiritually nor grasp in his own consciousness the truth which they find in their own ways.

Accordingly, the most important element in the foundation of this spiritual understanding is the finding of identities between the different nations. However deeply or exactly we may investigate by scientific analysis, if we seek merely to discover differences, nothing but differences will be found; but we can, if we will, find identities in the world as well as differences. However greatly war and other social disorders may exaggerate the differences and becloud the impartial judgment of men, yet what always gives the power of combination and fellowship between them is really their mutual spiritual understanding. So we should endeavour to make up the deficiencies of those national ideals which the Powers of the world have hitherto turned against one another, appreciating all the possibilities of friendly external relations, but at the same time seeking those which are internal and more intimate; recognising the inevitable differences which exist, but at the same time harmonising them by getting to their root, and so understanding spiritually as well as intellectually. Thus we should be able to find, behind political and economic relations, and also in spite of racial differences, the common bond which indissolubly links man to man, and heart to heart—the power concealed beneath those differences.

These two kinds of understanding should support each other instead of clashing. And while planning

our mutual understanding more and more spiritually as well as intellectually, we ought to cast aside national bias and enter freely and fully into one another's inmost relations. And when we reach the depths of the inner life and ideal of any nation, we touch the harp-string of the human spirit, and call out universal answering harmonies. Who can doubt that while misunderstanding severs the social bonds of human beings and prevents the social progress of civilisation, such a true understanding establishes the foundations of international friendship, and by means of co-operative effort widens the life of all, and enables them to flourish and progress together? Thus, appreciation of mutual aid as a factor of social evolution must soon become the ideal of nations in their international relations. And where and when this ideal is ignored it can only be said that the inevitable result must be a multiplying and a deepening of those hateful suspicions which have wrought such havoc among the nations in the past.

THE WORLD'S MISUNDERSTANDINGS UP TO THE PRESENT

THERE are possible two kinds of causes of misunderstanding, indirect and direct, which prevent men from knowing Japan as she really is at the present day. These are :—

1. Indirect : The world's misunderstanding up to this time.

2. Direct : The world's misunderstanding regarding the German-Japanese War.

Both these kinds of misunderstanding should be removed, forming as they do a gulf which separates Japan from other countries, a barrier to the promotion of the common happiness of the nations, by hindering co-operative endeavour for the higher aims of humanity. And, first of all, to make clear how Japan has been misunderstood up to this time is to give a key of explanation to the fact how she has been misunderstood in the German-Japanese War.

I. THE ESSENCE OF THE CIVILISATION OF JAPAN.

"Speaking as a scholar, the civilisation of Japan can also arouse a human interest, in nothing inferior

to those of Greece and Rome ; the Far East ought to occupy an important place in universal history." So wrote Dr. Revon lately when appraising the civilisation of Japan in his well-known book, *Histoire de la Civilisation japonaise*. Nevertheless, as few of the Powers appear to think the civilisation of Japan worthy of study from its foundations, it is by no means to be said that the essentials of the civilisation of Japan, whether good or bad, have been fully recognised.

Now the original civilisation of Japan, so far as it has corresponded to the frank character of the Japanese who have produced it, has been simple from the material point of view ; and the fact that the immaterial contents of the spiritual civilisation have been clothed in simple forms has misguided strangers not a little. For instance, those who up to this time have been suspicious of Japanese civilisation as dangerous because unaccompanied by mental culture, or who consider her modern rapid progress as a temporary fluctuation, and say that " the source of her civilisation will sooner or later be dried up," have yet much to learn about the civilisation they are judging. It is especially worthy of note that almost universally they assume that the Japanese culture is merely imitative. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the opinion which thus points out the imitative culture stamped on Japanese civilisation,

though often admirable, yet too often implies some shallow observation; for to consider Japanese civilisation as essentially imitative is to neglect a most important element in its nature; and an abstract judgment which ignores concrete details is very apt to be mistaken from its very foundation.

The civilisation of Japan has an imitative, it has also an original side. Those things which "Japan has imitated from foreign countries like a very passive organic body" are mostly the material and scientific externals of life, and she is chiefly original in what relates to the immaterial yet practical inner life. But this original inner life, as represented by Shinto or Bushido, etc., is difficult to observe and investigate by foreigners, to whom the language and other circumstances present great difficulties; and though it is customarily little esteemed by foreigners, yet it is the root of Japanese civilisation.

Secondly, it should also be noticed that the civilisation of Japan consists of as varied elements as the land of Japan (in which it flourishes) has gathered into itself civilisations of the world. Most important of all is what was developed indigenously, the purely national civilisation. On this groundwork first and second developments were achieved by the introduction of Chinese and Indian influences, and a third development by the introduction of modern European civilisation. Thus Eastern and Western influences in

the past, and more particularly European and American influences in later times, go to make Japan a melting-pot of world-civilisations.

Thus the contents and the tone of Japanese civilisation, which has been enriched and complicated by drawing from Asiatic, European and American sources, have special interest in helping towards that understanding of Eastern and Western nations which must precede the civilising of the world. And anyone who wishes to investigate the true cause of modern progress in Japan should impartially re-examine her civilisation from the naked condition of birth, and seek the source of her culture in her original spiritual life, without being misled by mere abstract generalisations resulting from their ambiguous impressions of Japan. If Europeans and Americans will extend their desires of knowledge and their efforts at accurate investigation to the Far East, just as the Japanese seek for knowledge widely in the Western parts of the world, they will soon understand that Japan's civilisation is readily harmonised with their inmost thoughts of their own civilisation.

II. Politics, Society, Industrial and Fine Arts, Manners and Customs, Literature, History, Etc.

What ought to be rightly understood, with the general features of the Japanese civilisation, are its

special phenomena. First of all, with regard to politics. Japanese politics, of course, must be considered in relation to the national spirit which founded Japan and the development of the ideal which evolved the history of its politics; otherwise it is difficult to comprehend the reason why the Emperor of Japan is so esteemed spiritually,[1] to grasp the true nature of the inseparable relation of the Imperial Family and its subjects, and other such things. Otherwise also observers may conjecture and surmise what is the mind of the people, judging from the practical politics which appear from time to time in the political world—but they fail to apprehend the ideal behind particular political matters. And as they do not investigate the foundation on which the constitutional monarchy is based, they hastily arrive at the conclusion that the Government of Japan so little understands the principles of liberty that it is "a centralised government to enforce order." Also they often believe the beautiful old form of the State to have been entirely changed, confusing the form of the State and the system of government because Japan adopted constitutional government at the beginning of the Meiji period. But this alone proves that they are wholly unfamiliar with Japanese politics.

[1] Cf. Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, vol. i., p. 261; George William Knox, *The Development of Religion in Japan*, 1907, p. 64.

It is a matter of course that social conditions and systems, with environment and history, greatly influence the thoughts and life of the individuals who live in any society. Yet from this point of view the inner nature of the social systems of Japan is unknown to the world. Japan up to this time has been a Family State, having as its unit the family, not the individual like some other countries; the State is simply a large family. And what particularly deserves attention is the family system, and especially the manner in which the morality and the customs cultivated in that family system are effectively applied to the corporate life as a nation. Though his family system may accompany weakness as well as strength, yet the way of living cultivated in it, while it is conspicuously modified by Western individualism, by the changed methods of living in the modern State, and by the development of economic thought, yet, on the other hand, the original principle of self-sacrifice is fostering continuous reform by holding extreme individualism in check. Nevertheless, the fact that the social activities of Japan under these different conditions are hardly noticed by foreigners, and that the continual reformation of old faults is ignored—this proves that the society of Japan, as understood by the world, is far removed from its actual condition.

The industrial and fine arts, being easily

apprehended at sight, have been comparatively well known to the world ; yet often the earthenware and carved buttons for suspending pouches, etc., are so much overpraised by foreign critics simply because they are uncommon ; or they are inferior work with which second or third-rate technical experts have condescended to gratify the popular taste, and which happen to be esteemed by many foreigners out of curiosity ; or in some cases they may be mere "pot-boilers" by experts of the first rank, which nevertheless are admired as representative productions. Thus the industrial and fine arts of Japan, generally, have seldom been seriously criticised. However, those who accurately observed them might surely have found along with many defects considerable merits in Japanese arts, and also incidentally increased their world of imagination. Dr. Revon [1] pointed out that the arts occupy a large place in the civilisation of Japan, and he expressed much admiration for them. Apart from the question whether the Japanese may really lay claim to such high praise or not, what ought to be investigated are the æsthetic ideals which have been nourished in the life of an island washed by the water of the ocean and bathed in sunshine, where nature is vivid and beautiful. Is it not worth while, then, for the world

[1] Cf. the articles on paintings, buildings, engravings, etc., in *Histoire de la Civilisation japonaise*, 1900.

to pay deeper attention to and make surer criticism of the strong points and the weaknesses which reveal themselves in Japanese industrial and fine arts ?

Among the Japanese manners and customs relating to food and dress, festivals, marriage, etc., there are many which are apparently different from those of European and American people, and seemingly reflect a taste and psychology special to the Japanese. But if the foreigner once learns the flavour of these through the Japanese natural environment, historical and social conditions, etc., in consequence of his readily finding many agreements between them, it will be easy to rouse a deep interest and sympathy for, even an enjoyment of, different manners and customs.

If the whole nation is impugned because of objectionable local customs which may be found, critics cannot escape the censure of "judging the entire flock by a few black sheep." And those who dislike another nation because of their knowledge of some old manners of a bygone age would be something like the *corbicula atrata*,[1] known to every Japanese child. It is but to narrow one's own experience and hinder the development of national common sense.

[1] The little shell-fish which closes its shell and imagines itself safe on the shore, when it is really in the fish merchant's window at the command of the first bidder.

With regard to Japanese literature, some very interesting comparisons may be made with the literature of Europe. For instance, Chikamatsu, one of the two stars in Tokugawa literature, was long ago likened to Shakespeare ;[1] the Lady Seisho Nagon is said to have had the style of a French lady of old time, and has been regarded as an oriental Sévigné ; the Priest Kenko also had gifts hardly inferior to hers, and is called the La Bruyère of Japan.[2] But besides the voluminous literature on which Japanese literary men have left their mark from the oldest times, on the sands of the so-called Island Root, "Yamato Shimane," there are not a few works whose devoted authors have concentrated their entire energies on one subject decade after decade. As regards the revival of classical literature in the sixteenth century —the commentaries, etc., of Kojiki, Nihongi, Mannyo, and others—there is in its spirit, as Professor Uyeda well remarks, something of deep and inexhaustible interest, especially when compared with the Renaissance Literature in Europe. It is said by some foreigners that the narrow space in which custom has confined the Japanese, has been "a great bar to the progress of their literature." Nevertheless, deeper insight will find a valuable clue

[1] Cf. W. G. Aston, *Japanese Literature*, p. 278.

[2] Cf. the article on Literature in Dr. Revon's *Histoire de la Civilisation japonaise*, 1900.

to the national temperament, and beneath the literary records of intrepidity and manly vigour (which are more on the surface) a vein of unspeakable tenderness and inspiring sympathy, such as is exemplified in the spirit of the saying, "Asking water (of a neighbour) because deprived of a well-bucket by the 'morning glory.'"[1] The same spirit is shown in the phrase, "sympathy of a warrior," and in the "deliverance," to use an oriental term, of the Samurai who maintained their elegance of behaviour, whether in the midst of life or death. For instance, in the war literature of the eleventh century incidents are sometimes related to show the power of detachment. In the height of battle General Yoshiiye called to Sadato, his defeated enemy (who was taking flight on horseback) in the words of the familiar form of a Japanese riddle, in which there was a play upon the word "Koromo" (the place where the battle was fought), the double entendre implying not only that Sadato's sleeve had been torn in the struggle, but also that his castle of Koromo had fallen. And Sadato in full flight across the river "String" still had the nonchalance to finish the impromptu riddle with the necessary seventeen words (which added to Yoshiiye's fourteen made up the

[1] A Japanese hokku, the idea being that sympathy for the fragile blossoms of the "morning glory" forbade his using the well-bucket around which the flower was festooned.

thirty-one words required in the orthodox form of the riddle), implying again the double meaning that time had frayed the string of the garment and changed the ownership of the castle. We read also of the brave Kajiwara, an elegant of the twelfth century, how he bore branches of the cherry blossom in his quiver, that their fragrance might be dispersed while he fought, symbolising the fragrant memory of his name if he chanced to fall on the battlefield.

Again, the Japanese have ever been most strongly affected by the changes of the natural world, and have remarkably stamped upon their literature a feeling of "Awaré," or sympathy even for fading flowers and falling leaves. Professor Anesaki says of this state of mind: "The word 'Awaré' means the bond of sympathy which joins man to man and man to nature." And further he says: "This sentiment of 'Awaré,' though it has always been regarded with a pitying tone of compassion, yet indicates a burning aspiration towards a spiritual world in its root."[1] If it be supposed that this sentiment of the people is an accidental exercise of sympathy, it would be well to refer to the so-called Seventeen Articles of the first Constitution of Japan, established by the famous Prince Shotoku in the sixth century. The idea of "appreciating gentleness, whether in high or low,

[1] Professor Anesaki, Le sentiment religieux chez les Japonais. Cf. *First Report of the Association Concordia of Japan*, p. 10.

one should aim not to go against," which is found in the first Article of the Constitution, is simply the common bond in the human mind which secures the communion of man with man. Such a refined and gentle state of detachment in national sentiment is not one of the things which foreigners can afford to neglect if they would taste the real flavour of Japanese literature.

The most conspicuous thing in the history of the Japanese nation is the fact that the unbroken Imperial line of one dynasty has persisted from the foundation of the State onward to the present day. On the other hand, this historical fact makes the relation between the Imperial family and the subjects much more intimate, and suggests a firmer unity to the national spirit. And, naturally, it is affirmed that we should consider history not merely as " the record of change," but as a process of thought ; thus we ought not only to investigate external events but also to consider the relations of fact and thought in history, and to ascertain their general principles. This method is especially necessary in trying to understand the history of other nations. Perhaps the spirit of history has seldom been more truly appreciated than in the well-known quotation, " Das Beste, was wir von der Geschichte haben, ist der Enthusiasmus, den sie erregt " (" The best benefit we derive from history is the enthusiasm which it

excites"). From this point of view, the essence of the history of Japan has not yet been fully understood by foreigners. It is not history alone which has been thus misunderstood; for example, the mythical narratives about the foundation of the State are often misrepresented as mere fragmentary myths, whereas they form as they actually are a system of mythology comparable with those of Greece and India. But to know the essence of their history, attention should be paid to the historical spirit which has been developed continuously from the times of this mythology to the historically verifiable foundation of Japan; their history should also be observed psychologically and socially, and their ideals should be thoroughly investigated in the light of the facts of their history.

Besides the features we have been considering, the differentiated developments of Buddhism and Christianity in Japan are most to be noticed. To speak only of the influence of Confucianism and Taoism. Many Japanese systems of ethical doctrines have developed from these teachings, and have enriched Japanese morals: such are Ko-gaku, which tends to return to the ancient teachings of Confucius and Mencius; Yomei-gaku, which unites knowing and doing; Shushi-gaku,[1] which concerns reverence

[1] Concerning Ko-gaku, Yomei-gaku, Shushi-gaku, etc., Cf. Professor T. Inouye's pamphlet, *Sur le Développement des Idées Philosophiques au Japon avant l'Introduction de la Civilisation Européenne.*

and the investigation of reason; Eki-gaku, which is the philosophy of change; Shin-gaku, which is the science of mind culture; Shugen-do, which might be called a system of Japanese Taoism, etc. Especially Ninomiya Sontoku, the founder of the doctrine of gratitude and recompense, Miura Baiën, who emphasized the science of natural principles, are both most worthy of notice, not only for the great number of their works, but also by reason of their originality in philosophy. As regards other sciences there are astronomy, military science, phytology, mathematics, etc.[1] These have their own histories, which may be very interesting for foreign peoples to investigate.

III. Moral Apprehension, Especially Concerning Bushido.

Bushido has recently come to be better understood by the world, still not a few things are wrongly interpreted by many foreigners. Especially what need to be made clear are THE FUNDAMENTAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF THE DOCTRINES OF LOYALTY AND FILIAL PIETY. Objections sometimes take this form: what is most appreciated in Bushido is the

[1] Special attention should be called to *A History of Japanese Mathematics*, by Smith and Mikami, published in 1914 by the Open Court Publishing Co.

ideal of loyalty and filial piety, but this ideal pushes the patriotism of the nation to an extreme, fosters exclusive feelings, and calls out an effect which is dangerous to international relations. It can be shown, however, that this is a prejudiced opinion which would damage the reality of the teaching by means of its forms. Loyalty and filial piety were originally the ways of serving a lord or a father, by the subject or the son, with all his heart and strength; it is a teaching which proceeds from human sincerity, and is fluid, not rigid, in its methods of expression.[1] But it can hardly help changing into a bigoted doctrine when it becomes petrified as a teaching applicable to only one nation, and like a dry specimen takes on certain hard forms of a particular age. It seems to me, however, that the content of the teaching is wide and practical enough to take forms of expression according to any time and place. The way of Bushido ought to be trodden not only nationally, but also individually. The Japanese from remote times have believed in the motto: "Duty is weightier than a mountain, death is lighter than a feather" when circumstances call for heroic acts. This is the same spirit which the "noble army" of Western martyrs has displayed from the time of St. Stephen onwards. Many of them fully believed that—like the acorn of the Pasania, flowing on the

[1] Cf. Inazo Nitobé, *Bushido*, 1905, p. 175.

mountain stream—they could only rise to the surface by losing the body. Such a spirit of sacrifice is not strange to the teaching of Christ who said: "He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it" (Matt. x. 39).

In Bushido not only loyalty and filial piety, but also valour, fidelity, honour, probity, simplicity, dignity, affection, etc., were all appreciated. But THE SPIRIT OF BUSHIDO which runs through or controls these virtues is really sincerity; Bushido is the unflinching, resolute fulfilment of duties, which originates from this pure sincerity, and its possessor does not hesitate to offer mind and body willingly when occasion actually demands. So Bushido is not precious merely for its revelation of valour, but what is precious is the spirit of sincerity revealed by valour.[1] The following ode expresses well its nature:

"So that my whole heart could serve my lord, scarcely should I remember that my body existed."

Bushido rooted itself in the spiritual ground of Japan from ancient times and was cultivated by means of the feudal systems; its teaching is essentially a living one, which has been drawn from the complex and endlessly changing life-experience of the warrior. Though it was scientifically elaborated and systematically made authoritative

[1] Cf. *The Imperial Precepts to the Soldiers and Sailors*, English translation, 1913, p. 13.

through the profound and long continued peace of the Tokugawa period, yet the models were chiefly the living patterns which warriors stamped on posterity by practice. What is most appreciated is the thorough-going practical efficiency with which they accomplish what they know to be just and believe to be their duty, and the absolute rigidity of principle with which they adhere to practice even at the cost of life.[1] But the special point which has most value in its application to daily life lies in the practical training to act in the present moment, not relying on the morrow, for they vow to themselves that there is no to-morrow for the spirit. This gives an extraordinary resolution and practical efficiency, not only in war-time, but also in peaceful daily life. It is but a shallow judgment which would say rather scornfully that this is merely an eccentric way the Japanese have about such things. The fact remains that brilliant, flowery language is not characteristic of Bushido, which acts on the motto: "Don't talk, but act." Some people think Bushido a narrow teaching which was confined to a particular caste in the past; yet it actively survives to-day, being not only the foundation of the spirit of military men in Japan, but also an important element of the national spirit in general.

[1] Cf. Herbert Moore, *Bushido*, 1913, p. 13.

IV. Religious Apprehension, Especially Concerning Shinto.

Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity, which flourish to-day in Japan, all had their origins abroad and have been transplanted and cultivated. Nevertheless, besides these faiths, Japan has also her original national religion which sprang up spontaneously in the land—I mean Shinto, or "The Way of the Gods." Now the way of the gods is the way of sincerity; it is nothing more nor less than the ideal way of human living, which a man can develop naturally by realising in pure sincerity what rises out of the inner depths of his spiritual nature. But there are few people in the world who do know the original nature of this way in detail and retain its spirit. For instance, to refer to ancestor-worship in Shinto. Many people think it a very shallow worship, regard its customs and manners as the proofs of the primitiveness of mental civilisation in Japan, and do not try to make any real investigation of THE IDEAL INDICATED IN ANCESTOR-WORSHIP. But the Japanese recognise a deeper meaning and more practical value in the worship of ancestors than is ordinarily understood in the world. Though this worship is originally but a form of the religious impulses which can be seen among all primitive nations, yet the reason why the Japanese in their

present-day civilisation still continue to appreciate it must not be overlooked.[1] This worship is the tracing back to the past of the idea of filial piety, as it appears in reverence and love towards parents; and it is the ardent religious impulse to realise to its utmost reach in past time the pure spirit of sacrifice which surges out of the inner sincerity. This attitude leads naturally to an awakened belief in the eternal spiritual reality, that is to say, the belief which they cultivate in the time-transcending worship of departed ancestors is the spring of their spiritual vitality. Therefore this worship is for them a power which enables them constantly to cultivate throughout life their sincerity of gratitude and obedience.[2] They can elevate themselves by the spirit and the experience of endeavouring to manifest their true sincerity through this worship. Just as a man ennobles himself by pouring out love towards others, so they improve themselves through this worship of ancestors, and they are fully aware of its practical value. In other words, through the sense of gratitude and obedience which they foster by this worship, they are really inspired and ennobled. It should not be

[1] Cf. "Ancestral Worship in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xxxviii., part iv., pp. 232–267.

[2] Cf. W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, 1905, p. 6. Also concerning the idea that ancestor-worship is the source of virtues of the Japanese, see La Mazelière, *Essai sur L'histoire du Japon*, pp. 26–28.

overlooked, then, that the deep, genuine sincerity which Carlyle appreciated as " the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic " is being nourished in the Japanese by this worship, and the foreigner's disapprobation when he says : " What is the value of worshipping commonplace ancestors ? " must be due to the fact that he does not know that it springs from his own divine sense of gratitude and obedience.

Again, our fathers and grandfathers are our former bodies, and our sons and grandsons are our future bodies ; thus we are the links between forefathers and descendants. Ancestors and posterity are thus connected spiritually as well as by blood ; that is why the worship of ancestors implies love of lineage and posterity. This being so, the foreigner's criticism that " it is better to worship descendants than ancestors " is of course nothing more than an aimless arrow.

Ancestor-worship is deprecated by many foreigners because they consider it primitive in form. But it is noticed that this worship in Japan has been greatly developed in its content by its connection with the idea of the divine personality of a hero or an emperor. [1] The living spirits of ancestors and descendants circulate for ever in this worship, until it becomes fused with the worship of racial life which is

[1] Cf. Professor Hans Haas, "Religion der Japaner" [1909–1913] (*Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, Band xvii., S. 270).

constantly upspringing. Thus the strong point of this worship lies really in the groundwork it provides for Japanese solidarity. Though this spirit apparently seems very remote from that of Christianity, yet it is really the practical outcome of the same spirit as filial love towards the Heavenly Father in Christianity.

The fact that in Shinto the actual man who once took earthly life is deified has been often attacked by foreigners as a proof that Japanese civilisation is after all very low. But to understand the practical meaning which the fact has in the national life it is necessary to realise the SHOJIN PRINCIPLE, THE PRINCIPLE OF INCESSANT PROGRESS, founded on the idea of the divine man in Shinto.

Now the wonderful mystery of the spirit which abides in the human body (the microcosm as it is often called) is like unto the macrocosm. But the human yearning which seeks God's revelation in Nature naturally calls out also the desire to perceive the divine nature within the human soul. This is perhaps the reason why early in old Japan we see the belief of "Arahito-gami" (the visible God-man), according to which the people worshipped the Mikado because they perceived the divine dignity within him. Not only the Mikado. They also worshipped in heroes what was noble and great—superior to ordinary people. After the hero was dead they worshipped his

hero-spirit.[1] Though his body was subject to death, yet apparently they perceived in his great spiritual personality an immortal, divine nature revealed by his pure, unselfish sincerity. This is why the Japanese, in the name of the State, deify not only Amaterasu Ohomi-Kami in Isé, but also many other heroes who have excelled in virtue and rendered great services to the State or society. Thus the belief that the divine nature can be discovered within the human soul—that belief is the power by which Shinto makes human beings progress and develop incessantly towards the highest ideal. They believe that the only way in which the human soul can surely evolve the divine nature is by the virtue of pure sincerity, arising from the inmost heart ; so they consider their deification of the human being as a mere form for the pursuit of their ideal. This is why Shinto, as the doctrine of the Japanese ideal, has a great significance in the life of the Japanese people ; to neglect this ideal and their effort to realise it is to neglect the spring of the real life of the nation.

This conception of the immanence of the divine, in Shinto, can never be called an extravagant one. A similar tendency is to be found in the Western idea that the human soul shares the very essence of the Divine soul, the former having essential qualities in common with the latter ; and such phrases are

[1] Cf Emil Schiller, *Shinto, die Volksreligion Japans*, 1911, S. 35.

to be found as: "The God in yourself"; "The indwelling God"; "God in the conscience." Goethe's words seem to correspond with this thought when he says: "Der Gott, der mir im Busen wohnt, kann tief mein Innerstes erregen" ("God who dwells in my breast can deeply stir my inmost being"). The same root-idea may be found in the Scriptures, where we read:—

"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."—Matt. v. 48.

or—

"Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father."—Gal. iv. 6.

It will be found, then, that a comparison of the immanent way of thinking in Shinto with the idea of the Divine immanence in Christianity is very illuminating. And the deification of man in Shinto not only in theory admits that "every human soul is a spark of the divine," but also in a thorough-going way exemplifies it as a historical fact.

The cults of many gods in Japan are often a stumbling-block to foreigners, who regard the polytheism of Shinto as the stamp of a very primitive religious culture. But the idea of plurality is naturally associated with the deification of men—and is ingrained in the national fibre by reason of its proved effect. Though it is generally understood

to have no relation with the monotheism of Christianity, yet really there is an intimate relation between them, as the conception of the One and the Many is necessarily co-related. There is the difference, that while Christianity, from its central standpoint, recognises one God, Shinto, from the standpoint of environment, recognises many gods; and the relation between the two is as intimate as that of centre and circumference. Only the process is different. While Christianity, from the belief in one God, comes naturally to recognise the Divine Power in individual phenomena, so Shinto, while emphasising concretely the Divine Power which reveals itself in individual phenomena, early showed a tendency to unify phenomena pantheistically.[1] Accordingly, the difference lies chiefly in this: while Christianity, as a religion especially concerned with life after death, sees one Controller of the universe, Shinto, as a religion primarily concerned with this present life, seeks concretely individual gods manifested practically in this earthly human life. Consequently, while the former is super-national the latter may be quite national. And the Shinto idea of gods, without remaining as primitive as it is often supposed to be by foreigners, really develops the contents of the ideas all the time, enriching human

[1] Cf. Dr. G. Kato's Pamphlet, *Two Papers on Shintoism*, 1914, p. 9.

conceptions of the spiritual world by contributing varieties, and enabling men to remedy the evils which are apt to remain impracticable when unity is sought abstractly and in a manner too remote from the complexities of real life.

In short, in Shinto one should discover a deeper meaning than is ordinarily understood—a meaning which relates itself to the real life of humanity. And when Shinto is considered impartially it is obvious that it is religious, though not Christian, and in spite of its polytheism, as a religion it stands on common ground of human life with Christianity.[1]

The impartial observer will find, then, the pure water, which has sprung up in the "evening (Western) land," has been found also in the "morning (Eastern) land;" and further he will be able to find both in Shinto and Christianity the same religious significance for satisfying men's spiritual thirst. Once in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when to many foreigners Japan was still almost a myth, a Japanese patriot shouted that the water under the Nihon-Bridge (in Tokyo), on account of its circulation, is one with that in the Bays of America; and so the two kinds of religion, when sounded to their depths, will both of them reveal that the same "water of life" underflows the surface, whether in East or West.

[1] Cf. Emil Schiller, *Morgenroete in Japan*, 1913, s. 7.

THE GERMAN-JAPANESE WAR AND WORLD-MISUNDERSTANDINGS. [1]

EVEN in time of peace the true state of Japan has never yet been fully understood by the world. Not only so, but owing to this fact it is indisputable that the German-Japanese War has made the general misunderstanding of Japan still more and more deep and complex, and has given birth to many new suspicions and misunderstandings. Still, if we once consider the spiritual problems which this great war is to assign to the civilisation of the world after it is over, it is most necessary that to-day we should consider calmly and impartially the true circumstances of Japan's conduct of the war, quite apart from any *idola fori* in war-time. We want here, first of all, to refer to some foreign criticisms concerning Japan, consequent on the German-Japanese War, and to offer some comments thereon.

[1] I have inserted this chapter because I am anxious to deal with some important practical aspects of the question, not only on the sides of morality and religion, but also in connection with the situation of the present. The chapter is therefore meant to be an illustration on the text of the preceding pages, and also forms a kind of practical introduction to the following chapter.

I. Various Rumours about the War of Japan with Germany.

Scarcely had the event which occurred at first on one spot of the European Continent like a little stone thrown on the surface of the waters and gradually enlarging its ripples reached the British Islands, when at that same moment the European confusion extended itself to the Far East.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN WAR AND THE ATTITUDE OF JAPAN at once became a topic of general interest. Not only Germany and Austria turned their anxious gaze Eastwards, but all the Powers concentrated their attention upon the action of Japan. And in this opportunity so full of interest Japan did not hesitate to make clear her attitude by carrying out the duties of her alliance with England, though she could not avoid incurring no little misunderstanding of the world in consequence. Among the causes which helped to bring about this misunderstanding we may include the lack of detail in the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, surmises arising from lack of knowledge about the fact of political negotiations between Japan and Germany, the setting at defiance the considerations of psychology and the character of the Japanese race, ignorance of the faith and ideal of the Japanese nation, etc.

RUMOURS IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.[1] Germany and Austria gravely misunderstand Japan, in proportion to their lack of knowledge of things Japanese. Judging from their treatment of the Japanese who were in their countries at the beginning of the war, and other similar occurrences, it may perhaps be inferred that they have come to dislike and hate the Japanese as some birds dislike hairy caterpillars. At the outbreak of war between England and Germany the author himself was in Germany and heard such remarks as this: "Now England and Germany are really at war, Japan is watching to see which way the cat jumps, but surely Japan will not take the part of a nation of shopkeepers." Or, "As Japan fought with Russia formerly, she will be sure to help Germany by attacking Russia from behind." So it is not difficult to suppose that their hatred of Japan was increased when Japan's attitude failed to correspond to their expectation. Accordingly, when Japan declared war, it was said: "Japan is going to fight to get all the plums, for the Japanese are really very cunning." Or again: "Japan is fighting in the war for no reason but envy of the strength of

[1] Doubtless the causes which have led to this war are numerous, but here the writer intends to treat only one aspect of the problem. He deals with historical facts, but does not make any prophecies concerning Japanese politics after the changed conditions caused by the present war.

Germany; the alliance with England is only a pretext." Another said: "Japan has no excuse for fighting against Germany, her attack on Tsintau is nothing but a pretext for getting territory in China." Yet another: "Japan by this act is aiming at holding complete sovereignty in the Pacific Ocean." (Cf. *Staatszeitung*, New York, August 27th, 1914; *Jiji Shimpo*, Tokyo, August 19th and 20th, 1914.)

All must admit that Germany has contributed much in the past to the civilisation of the world by her extraordinary energy and diligence, and, whether they be allies or enemies, should impartially esteem her strong points. But the Germans, being so preoccupied with their own activities, have not been diligent enough in their study of foreign things; and hence many foreigners have come to believe that "Germans are proud and disposed to look down on other nations as being beneath them." Since they have been at war they have grown to hate their enemies very bitterly, and their temper may be inferred from the use of such expressions as "Weh zu Nippon," "Asiatic despot," etc.

But the real fact about this great war seems to be that the nations are not fighting because they hate one another, but it is much more the case that they hate one another because they are in conflict. If Germans and Austrians come to consider the origin of the war

calmly, with that attitude of real investigation which in theory they advocate, they will be surprised to find how greatly they misunderstood foreign matters before the war. Then they will probably think more closely and accurately about the attitude of Japan, and to their surprise they will learn that the Japanese people believe to-day that they have as truly followed the natural course as water does when it flows downwards.

When we turn to THE RUMOURS IN ENGLAND, we also find misunderstandings. In England men criticised the attitude of Japan while they also welcomed it in general much as follows: "Japan makes a dignified declaration of war for the sake of justice and right." Another says: "She fights for honour and freedom." Another: "She fights for the solemn treaty with England." And another: "Japan is nowadays playing a brave and important part in a war for the civilisation of the world," etc. (See *The Times*, July 25th, 1915, and *The Japan Times*, August 3rd, 1915.) But among the English people themselves one sometimes hears it said that the real motive of Japan's declaration of war was revenge against Germany for causing her to lose the fruits of the Russo-Japanese War, for which they and their fathers had made such enormous sacrifices. Yet should not an ultimatum between two Powers demand some more important reason than a little

resentment or enmity? Sometimes, owing to a shallow mode of thinking, it is not realised that Japan declared war quite formally, and it is said that she acted rashly, merely availing herself of an opportunity. But this is a mere supposition, and it should be known that Japan declared war quite in due form, after consulting with England in all sincerity. If this is the fact, then to have done otherwise would have been a miscarriage of Japan's execution of duty towards the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

RUMOURS IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. Some Americans announced that Japan intended to act with great territorial ambition during this time, like a fire thief. One of the most eminent of American statesmen, after blaming the attitude of Japan, concludes thus: "Our true course should be to judge each nation on its conduct, unhesitatingly antagonising every nation that does ill." (*The Weekly Dispatch*, January 3rd, 1915.) This conclusion would seem to anyone who understands Japanese affairs like judging Japan's acts without regarding them in their context. His remark is not exempt from the criticism that, even though it is true, in this case it is misapplied. However, to speak generally, the Americans seem to have considered that the Japanese attitude is natural. One says: "Japan's demand on Germany is quite in the proper way." Another says: "Though it is a direct benefit

to Japan to ignore the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, her intention is nothing else than to fulfil her treaty obligations." Another says: "The noble action which Japan performed during this time in co-operating with England respecting the treaty will be recorded in history for ever." Another: "Japan is acting within her competence as an ally of England; in her action towards the South Sea Islands, as German estate, she is taking possession of them as England herself would do if her power were available." (Cf. *Philadelphian Report*, December 23rd, 1915; Reuter's message from New York, August 18th, 1915.)

During the days of the Chino-Japanese negotiations following the fall of Tsintau, both Powers for a time failed in securing what they wanted owing to mutual suspicions, yet the two peoples were not necessarily originally animated by mutual hatred. On Japan's declaration of war, the Chinese generally, except an openly pro-German section, seem to have looked with good feeling upon Japan's demands on Germany. It is reported that the President of the Chinese Government summoned to one room the Ministers of every department, and made the announcement that as Japan had acted with sincerity towards China and the general situation of the Orient, so they ought also to reward this with their honesty. (Telegraphic message from Pekin, August 23rd, 1914.) Another

powerful Pekin newspaper stated: "We comprehend the true motive of Japan, which is going to act rightly according to the pronouncement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance . . . and we are thankful to Japan which is so securely fastening the chain of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance." (*Pekin Gazette*, August 31st, 1914.)

In spite of the fact that Germans and Austrians are surrounded by enemies, they are still fighting in high spirits—a fact which must excite the interest even of their enemies; yet such sayings as "Germany is white like an angel, the Allies are black like devils," and "Japan, a yellow robber," if they really believe what they say, surely shows that they entirely fail to understand their enemies. Neutral countries will certainly not consider the cause of the Allies as unjust as the Germans expect. What Professor Gang, of the University of Copenhagen, has said is in harmony with impartial criticisms which are echoed from disinterested neutral countries, and therefore not to be considered as an isolated comment. He says: "The truth is claimed as a German monopoly; the authors of the manifesto issued by German theologians, etc., at the beginning of the war assert that the Allies wish to rob Germany of her territory. What did Germany do to France in 1870, and to us in 1864 . . .?" And again: "The misfortune is that no German ever conceives it

possible that any German can have committed any wrong against others." If such comments are really representative of neutral opinion, Germans must naturally share responsibility as regards the conditions under which the Allies came to declare war; and also they should have much searching of heart as to how they are to understand other nations hereafter.

II. The So-called "Yellow Peril"—Foundations of the Opinion.

The popular phrase, the "Yellow Peril," which has become more familiar to our ears during this war, was originally made in Germany (as also was the term "Yellow robber"), whence it was exported to America, Australia, etc. Yet what grounds are there for this fear? Is there as much justification for it as has been supposed? It is most necessary, not only for the yellow race, but also for the white, that the truth about this should be known.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL GROUNDS. Now, there is no doubt that one of the reasons why this idea came about is the prevalence of racial hatreds and prejudices. In detail, these hatreds and

prejudices are based on differences of race, character, language, history, manners and customs, morality, religion, etc; yet why should these divergencies necessarily repel different races from one another? For instance, if some people hate differences in the colour of the skin and hair of other nations, let them suppose that they had been born and bred in the same country; they could hardly have escaped being coloured similarly. The softening of the feelings which arises from mutual understanding and friendship between two nations is, of course, most requisite for general progress, refreshing culture by imparting a great stimulus and vividness to the life of each, and giving a new direction to their evolution by breaking the monotony of isolated development. But their mutual antagonism is illusory; it is the old habit of the uncivilised peoples, who used to regard all strangers with a hostility akin to that of wild beasts. It has long been a vain survival in modern civilisation, and by intensifying the blind feelings of humanity still deceives even highly-developed human understanding. In this connexion the words of Professor Alexander F. Chamberlain, as an anthropologist, are worthy of note when he declared: "For the anthropologist there is but one human race, whose seeming diversities are but the proof of its essential unity."[1]

[1] Cf. *First Report of the Association Concordia of Japan*, 1913, p. 16.

In short, except by our illusionary ideas we cannot find any theoretical foundation strong enough to justify this fear of the Yellow Peril bogey, and it is plain that it includes many irrational sentimental prejudices among what are considered its fundamental arguments.

Secondly, in addition to the reasons arising from racial prejudices, there is the supposed danger that, as the yellow race impedes the interests of the white race and is checking the civilising progress of the latter practically, some day or other the East may impose great pressure on the destiny of the West. But for the social deveplomeni of human beings and the fulness of life the mutual aid of all is necessary; it is quite plain, as Mazzini thought that human beings when isolated are weak and inferior to many beasts in strength while they are capable of multiplying their strength by co-operative action. Co-operation is the art and manner of making others' thoughts and progress our own, and of adding others' powers to our own. It is a mistake to confine our attention to only that side of the Darwinian teaching which shows that the weak fall a prey to the strong; mutual aid is also a most important element of social evolution, and by competition in goodness the human spirit evolves. Finally, we must not forget that mutual love is the foundation of social combination, and co-operation

is the most important factor of social progress. Every nation, then, should remember that each can be improved only in proportion as it holds more intimate and comprehensive intercourse and cultivates more extended contact and communication with others. And if the nations must have free intercommunication for the sake of self-development, why should they not try to promote mutual happiness by reciprocal love and co-operation, by uniting themselves with others spiritually, penetrating to one another's very soul and deeply influencing their inner life with human sympathies and sincerity? Thus they might enlarge the sphere of action of morality for more extended duties, and set the eyes which have been misled by seeming reality upon the more valuable common aims of humanity, diligently rivalling one another in manly courage and noble spirit. Among the sayings of Japan there is one that runs: "Do not be afraid when treading on justice," which may perhaps be freely translated as the equivalent of, "Be just and fear not." If one has, on looking within, the conscious sincerity which would die for justice, and the courage to run a fair race by means of real ability, why is it necessary to exclude or to be afraid of even foreign nations? Even the White races are always one another's enemies if their method of competition is not good; and even the Yellow races, if their method of

competition is not bad, do not fail to remain always useful friends. There is therefore a way of DESTROYING THE FEAR OF THE "YELLOW PERIL."

We have seen that neither theoretically nor practically is there any basis originally for fear of the Yellow Peril, though unhappily there is some seeming reason for it to-day, as their methods of competition are not the best; and its effect being not only profitless but harmful, it should be got rid of as soon as possible, in order to be free from narrow national prejudices, and to extend the free spirit higher and broader to include all the humanity in the world. Fear of the Yellow races does not arise necessarily because they are crafty, but from perverted ideas and imaginings born of the suspicion that they are crafty; and suspicion creates evil where the nations might contribute to the happiness of one another. But such racial prejudices should not be saved from natural extinction when the real character of the suspected races becomes evident to clearer vision. As a matter of fact, the "Yellow Peril" delusion is so foolish that it hardly deserves contradiction. But so long as there are those who run about solemnly calling out such opinions (like somnambulists attacked with racial nightmare), it will be necessary to endeavour to combat their delusions, so that reason may not be led astray by nervous sentiment, but that a manly, tolerant courage

towards other races grows up among the nations. For the sake of the mutual well-being and honour of humanity such delusions must be driven away from the world of our memory for ever, and in order to dry up the origin and wither the root of such mischievous opinions the fundamental understanding of every nation by its fellows must be carefully and definitely planned.

New fuel for world-suspicion to feed on was afforded by the recent negotiations between China and Japan, yet an impartial judgment could not fail to recognise the true facts when the surrounding clouds of prejudice were broken up. In the days when the negotiations between China and Japan were opened, there were many people in Europe and America who were concerned to know whether Japan would invade China in the opportunity given by the European confusion; and they considered the negotiations as an expression of the Japanese ambition to establish a supremacy over China. It was said: "Japan intends practically to rule China," and again: "Japan is in danger of losing the friendship of the world by standing now on the precipice of morality." (Cf. *Public Opinion*, May 14th, 1915.) This hostile feeling towards Japan was further intensified by an appeal to the Powers by some Chinese, who said Japan intended to invade China. Anyone, however, who had minutely

observed the Japanese spirit, the love of justice and honour, and the temper of sturdiness and artlessness, might readily have inferred that the demands were not spasmodic and unnatural, but the inevitable issue of the national temper and spirit along the lines of past evolution. In this connexion a remark by the Prime Minister of Japan is worth notice: "It is not at all a matter of invading the integrity of China, nor does it refer to that of other countries. Japan's will at this time is nothing but to maintain authentically, by an express provision, what has been practically within Japan's competence, in order to facilitate the future intercourse of both countries. It is a problem which can be solved quite easily if only China will confide in Japan."

III. The Origin of Japan's Share in the War.

Anyone who asks why Japan threw herself into the whirlpool of the European confusion ought first of all to ask himself why the European Powers are engaged in this most tragic war. It is, of course, superficial to think that the war had its rise on the day when it broke out. Nor can we stop at merely tracing its political causes. In any case where nations come into armed conflict the probability is that a metaphysical war has preceded it; the spiritual worlds must have been in conflict before the

physical. In other words, together with political processes we should look for the deeper causes which have long been mentally preparing in the ideas of the nations. In connection with this we come across

A GRAVE MISUNDERSTANDING AND FALLACY.

One of the greatest misunderstandings and mistakes—which should be considered with the complicated reasons concerning economic and other ambitions, political tactics, etc.—is the belief that to be self-centred and self-sufficient, neglecting all relations and responsibilities towards others, is the way for a people to make itself not only the strongest but the fittest in the struggle for existence. The Germans' "self-consciousness of excellence" made them neglectful of close reflection on their inner nature, and they miscalculated the real character of others. It is self-evident that the "might is right" idea, as represented by Nietzsche, and the pan-Germanism of Treitschke, Bernhardi, etc., will not maintain the self as always the fittest, for to do so would be to ignore wholly the spirit of national friendship and co-operation. However, we must notice here that misunderstanding of other nations is not confined to Germany and Austria. In England and the Allied countries there are many who suppose that all Germans followed Treitschke and Bernhardi in desiring the war, but, whatever the present attitude of the nation as a whole, anyone who has lived with

them for a long time and knows their inner life could hardly assert that war was the will of all the nation.

A German Professor says: "Germany did not wish this war, it was forced on her. . . . Any thought of conquest was foreign to us." And he also discourses ardently on "the unshaken belief in the righteousness of the cause of Germany," referring to the following aphorism: "Es kann der Froemmste nicht im Frieden bleiben, wenn es dem boesen Nachbar nicht gefaellt."

It is easier to believe this, as well as the manifesto of the German professors and theologians, and to suppose that even among the Germans there has been circulating the same neighbourly feelings possessed by the Allies—it is easier to concede this than to believe that they are deceiving others and themselves by fabricating what they know to be wholly untrue. Let it be granted, then, that many Germans probably obeyed the voice of conscience. If Englishmen—who all admit now how little they have understood German affairs—if they will not admit some such explanation, but declare dogmatically: "All Germans are liars and hypocrites," will it not be a similar misunderstanding to that of the Germans who in their blind hate for Englishmen believe that they are fighting solely for cunning motives? A writer of a book that foretold the war formerly wrote: "Just as surely as every German says to-day, 'War

with England will never be, unless England starts it,' so every Englishman whom I ask says to me, 'War with Germany will never be, unless Germany starts it.'"

But if the nations did not want war, how could a war demanding such a sacrifice of blood and treasure occur between them? Russia says that at first she had no intention to fight; her mobilisation was simply to check Austria's designs on Servia. France says she showed the sincerity of her desire for peace by observing the neutrality of Belgium. England says she endeavoured to the last to mediate between the countries. Germany says she was obliged to act to have the upper hand of Russia, as her attitude was challenging and her action insincere. Thus both sides seek to throw the responsibility on each other—indeed, who would have the responsibility for it? Probably no country had at first the will to fight, but did they not all develop what was in truth a mutual menace to established conditions, a mutual suspicion and misunderstanding? If that be the case, it follows that to comprehend each other truly must be the first condition of happy relations between different countries. But to have such mutual understanding their mind must be, as the Easterns have it, "like a clear mirror or like still water," which can only come about by getting rid, firstly, of hatred towards other nations, and, secondly, of the prejudice

of thinking themselves alone in the right. In such an impartial way must anyone study the facts if they wish to know the circumstances which determined Japan in opening the war.

First of all, it must be considered what is involved in THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, which is quite new in the world's memory. It is already recognised by the Powers that the aim of this Alliance is the co-operation of England and Japan in securing oriental peace and the protection of the commercial intercourse of both countries in the Far East. The Alliance not only became a formal link joining England and Japan politically, but also the relations of both countries arising from it are naturally secured by moral responsibility. As a matter of course, therefore, the Japanese at this time thought they could not ignore the Treaty without deceiving England altogether, and make a " scrap of paper " of the friendly relations which had hitherto existed. Not only so, when England declared war on Germany she called on Japan in virtue of the Alliance to help her. Thus *The Times* said :—

" In consequence of Germany's having forced us to engage in war, our commerce in the seas of East Asia was driven to the verge of crisis. Thereupon we appealed to our Ally, on the strength of the agreement of the alliance, and Japan, as we expected, faithfully

responded to our appeal."—*The Times*, July 25th, 1915; also compare the account of the Russo-Japanese Alliance in *The Daily Chronicle*, July 8th, 1916, and *The Times*, July 8th, 1916.

This demand on the part of England doubtless explains why, at the time when Japan declared war, many Japanese newspapers argued that Japan was only going to do her duty. Let us, however, go psychologically deeper into the matter, and consider the ideas and motives lying at the bottom of the Japanese mind.

JAPAN'S MOTIVES IN OPENING THE WAR. What greatly determined the attitude of Japan, besides the fact of her alliance with England, and also England's request for interposition, was undoubtedly her clear recognition of the cause for which England had been compelled to throw herself into this war. Even neutral countries cannot fail to recognise the German conduct in the destruction of the neutrality of Belgium and other acts as manifestations of vandalism, based on the principle " might is right ; " and they cannot but admire how England has been united within herself " in defence of freedom and humanity," " in resistance against infringement of the international rights of Belgium," " in the fulfilment of obligations to France and Russia," " in the help of little Belgium," " in the advocacy of

maintaining the paramount obligations of fidelity to a plighted word." Undoubtedly Englishmen believe they are fighting for the right cause, just as the Germans make the same claim. And Japan, after deliberately weighing the rival claims, believed it necessary, not only for her own honour and fidelity, but also for justice and right, to help England, the ally of pacifism, and to resist Germany, the destroyer of order; Japan believed she could not reject the call of England without national dishonour. This dual call—"for the sacredness of international duty," "for sincerity to an ally"—was it not, then, without any room for self-deception, genuinely justifiable on the ground that "a man's word is his bond?"

But we must not neglect to notice also Japan's willingness to fight for the eternal peace of the Orient. That is to be seen from some phrases, which we will quote, CONCERNING JAPAN'S DECLARATION OF WAR.

In the text of the declaration of war it is said: "For the sake of maintaining the Eternal Peace of the Orient." And again: "We, in spite of our ardent devotion to the cause of peace, are thus compelled to declare war." These expressions indicate the fact that Japan's declaration of war against Germany was necessary, in order to keep the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and secure the Eternal Peace of

the Orient.[1] How this peace was threatened is further seen by reference to "German men-of-war and armed vessels which are prowling around the seas of Eastern Asia menacing our commerce and that of our Ally."[2] What is here to be noticed is that Japan tried to attain her aim by peaceful means as far as possible, though evidently she had no lack of fighting ability at this time. In her ultimatum the unprecedentedly long time she gave for reply is an indication of Japan's sincere love for peace. And her declaration of war, when she got no reply from Germany, inferred a natural endeavour to remove, as an English writer expressed it, "the cause of trouble and danger which disturbed the peaceful progress of Japan," and to thwart aggressors who at any time might have designs upon her. If that really be the case, people who admit the truth of the following sentence would have no reason to wonder at the conduct of the Japanese[3]:—

"Ein Friede, der der Befuerchtung ausgesetzt ist, jeden Tag, jede Woche gestoert zu werden, hat nicht den Wert eines Friedens; ein Krieg ist oft weniger

[1] Cf. H. W. Wilson, *The Great War*, part 36 (Japan's part in the great war described and pictured, p. 90).

[2] Cf. *The Times History of the War*, part 24 (Japanese number, p. 397).

[3] Concerning German criticism on Japan, cf. Dr. Fritz Wertheimer, *Deutschland und Ostasien*, S. 13 (*Der Deutsche Krieg*, 14 Heft), 1914.

schaedlich fuer den allgemeinen Wohlstand als ein solcher unsicherer Friede." — Bismarck, in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, 30th January, 1869. ("A peace which is exposed to fear that it may be broken any day, any week, has not the value of peace at all. A war is often less injurious for the general welfare than such an insecure peace.")

In view of the facts it is needless for the Japanese to claim that the fulfilment of their pledge to England, in declaring war on Germany, was not only an act of justice, but a duty for which they had not only legal sanction but a clear conviction on ethical grounds.

IV. Peace and War.

One of the mistaken ideas of foreigners about Japan arises from their ready supposition of Japanese warlike feeling, while ignoring their love of peace. Peace ideas in Japan have their source in a far-off, divine age, and as a power for conserving order were handed down in the mind and history of the people. In the national mythology (that is, the mythology concerned with the foundation of Japan), Ama-terasu Oho-mi-kami, the Goddess who traditionally played the greatest rôle in the founding of the state, was the Sun Goddess, the Guardian Goddess of Peace. And the PEACE IDEA IN JAPAN, FROM

THE OLDEST TIMES, was much cherished by the national tradition about this Goddess. In the national tradition you will find that the Japanese evolved many wonderfully interesting narratives representing the working out of a great catastrophe, when peace and order were lost to the world and the evil Powers were rampant—all caused by the "concealment in the heavenly rocky cave" of this Sun Goddess; but they make her reappearance from the cave the occasion of a glorious victory which gives eternal peace to the world.[1] It is natural to suppose that this ideal of Peace after struggle—of a true tranquillity as distinguished from a merely temporary peace—which appeared in their mythology has continued through their history and impressed itself deeply on the psychology of the race. This spirit of appreciation of peaceful amity expressed itself very plainly later on in the Seventeen Articles of the Constitution of Shotoku Taishi (A.D. 572–622), and it has been regarded as a most important doctrine from that time onward.[2] Thus, to those who are well acquainted with the history of the Japanese people it will not be a matter of wonder at all if the people in their hearts think it just to declare war against anyone whom they believe to be a destroyer of peace.

[1] Cf. Dr. Karl Florenz, *Japanische Mythologie*, 1901, S. 94.

[2] Cf. David Murray, *Japan*, pp. 108, 416.

What is called "love" in Christianity has been known in Japan as "jin" (meaning humanity), and this virtue has been represented in a jewel, one of the three decorations which together make up the divine regalia. But "jin," which lacks dignity, is apt to be slighted and can hardly attain its proper aim. To rectify this weakness they have appreciated, on the other hand, "chi" (wisdom), and "yu" (courage), symbolised respectively by a mirror and a sword,—these forming the other two decorations of the divine regalia. When these two, wisdom and courage, combine in righteousness and justice, the blend is sometimes represented by the word "gi"; and as the Japanese can find in Nature (which they love) the two faculties of life-giving and killing, so they cultivate both sympathy and dignity by appreciating "jin" and "gi" equally. This dualism has been increasingly developed through military life during feudal times. We can often see the idea of "jin" and "gi," as in the relation of parent to child, where punishment is inflicted from motives of love and duty; and in any righteous conflict such would be the relation between LOVE AND WAR, because war arising from the idea of "gi" does not necessarily change the heart of love. Thus the reason for their appreciating "chi" and "yu," on the one hand, while esteeming "jin," on the other, is possibly nothing but the same reason why in

Christianity, while love for enemies is to be the dominating principle, yet there are occasions when moral indignation has its place in any righteous soul, and stern action, such as Jesus took when He drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple, becomes a positive necessity.

Love and hatred are the two poles of one and the same life ; and to think that they have no relation to each other is undoubtedly a mistake. Love of what is good, and hatred of what is evil, are both means by which progress is achieved, and this implies that we must learn to discriminate when apportioning praise or blame. It can bring nothing but disaster, however, when children are taught, in the way German children are now being taught, to hate Englishmen. As Schiller remarks :—

> " Denn Krieg ist ewig zwischen List und Argwohn,
> Nur zwischen Glauben und Vertraun ist Friede,
> Wer das Vertraun vergiftet, O der mordet
> Das werdende Geschlecht im Leibe der Mutter."

(" War is ever engendered between Cunning and Suspicion,
Peace is only possible by the Union of Faith and Trust,
He who poisons Trust murders
The coming generation in the womb of its Mother.")

But as the firmest friends sometimes make the bitterest enemies, so *vice versa*, the intensity of antagonism may reveal subtle affinities of spirit, which assert themselves far more powerfully when

the fire of hate has burnt itself low, than would have been possible had the relation always been one of mere indifference. And this gives ground for hope that it may be possible to find the opportunity which shall evolve the germs of true friendship and cause a new relation between the warring Powers: the great need is that they should reach a reciprocal spiritual understanding of each other as the consequent of the war. For they are now in the struggle, and must fight it out to the bitter end, which may yet, as in the case of Russia and Japan, lead to a real mutual understanding. The Japanese have a proverb to the effect that "the earth is made secure by a great rain," a saying whose significance lies in the better facilities afforded for travel in that country after a heavy downpour which has swept away the mud, and is perhaps somewhat equivalent to the English expression that "the darkest hour preludes the dawn."

In short, we may say that although a time-serving and makeshift peace, or "peace at any price," is not to be desired, yet war is not an ultimate aim. And every nation ought forthwith to investigate its moral and religious, with its economic and political foundation—on which future peace must necessarily be established—seeking to strengthen these foundations by mutual understanding of its fellows. For on what other basis than this fundamental fraternity

of nations can the new ideal of international peace be established ?

V. A Neo-Japanism.

The idea well known from the oldest times in the Orient of "every day new, day by day new, and every day new again," has been continually realised by the Japanese who are given to learning new things by cherishing the old. But there are not a few people in the world who sometimes picture present-day Japan to themselves (after the manner of the psychometrist) by grasping the relics which lie buried in the records of Old Japan ; it must be said, however, that sometimes while seizing the veil they allow the shrouded figure within to escape. To mention some conspicuous examples. First, they credit the Japanese with still possessing feelings of hostility towards foreigners, which they suppose to have persisted from a past policy of isolation and aggressiveness towards other peoples. Many Christian missionaries, who in early times came over to Japan and engaged in missionary work, fell into a fundamental error, too characteristic of missionary enterprise.[1] Instead of making an accurate study of the original thoughts and beliefs of Japan, and

[1] Cf. Missionsinspektor Lic. Theol. J. Witte, *Ostasien und Europa*, 1914, S. 163.

working from them, they ignored them in their fervid haste to plant new doctrines. This is one of the reasons why at that time they gained the antipathy instead of the sympathy of the nation, and made it necessary for the Government to take the course of excluding foreigners. However, with the accession of the Meiji this policy of excluding foreigners was altogether superseded by the determination to open up the country and foster a progressive spirit. Critics often assume that this new policy was a mere political reformation, but that judgment is based upon shallow observation. The new attitude was undoubtedly designed to have a spiritual as well as a political realisation, and its actual effect was to establish firmly the great principle of opening up the country and fostering progress. This is the spirit of new Japan, which is altogether different from the old exclusiveness and isolated self-development, and is plainly expressed in the Five Articles in the form of oaths, which Meiji Tenno, the late Japanese Emperor, at the time of his accession to the throne, swore most solemnly to the gods of heaven and earth to observe, according to the Shintoistic way of expressing sincerity.

Secondly, on the other hand, there are some foreigners who make the criticism that modern Japan has changed entirely for the worse, by giving

herself up to profit-making and craftiness, going after new things and losing the fine, simple qualities of olden times. But the modernisation, by the opening up of Old Japan and the newly-awakened vigour, is a new endeavour along the lines of the former Japanese ideal. Therefore it is very difficult to ascertain generally that Japan has entirely changed. Further, Japanese development cannot rest satisfied with a merely self-centred, narrow knowledge; for in the Articles of the Oath it is stated that she should seek knowledge widely in the world and follow the highway of heaven and earth; and in the Imperial Rescript on Education by the same Emperor Meiji it is stated that the Japanese ideal should have its origin in the just way, which is the same in all ages, and the consistent way, applicable to internal as well as to foreign relations. It is plain, therefore, that the Oath and the Imperial Rescript expressed formally the spirit of the Japanese ideal, which is the quest of universal truth. It is not, then, at all by chance that Japan makes it her aim to recognise the strong points of other countries and introduce them boldly and rationally without being restrained by sentimental feelings. Though this tolerant spirit has been conspicuous in Japanese life from the beginning, yet naturally it was especially cultivated through the feudal age, while the feudal lords strove with one another to excel in the virtues

of their lord, and the virtue of tolerance was very much appreciated as an important qualification of an enlightened ruler who would admit the direct advice of his followers. And Neo-Japanism is nothing else than the manifestation of this historical spirit by the late Emperor of Japan, who in himself realised this virtue of tolerance and encouraged its universal cultivation. It is hardly necessary to say that when this principle of trying to understand others impartially was applied by the nation, it would readily be able to cultivate the co-operative spirit with other nations ; and to consider the modern activities of Japan as a manifestation of a narrow nationalism or a utilitarianism which fails of any lofty ideal is unquestionably a great mistake.[1] What reason is there, then, why Japan should not unite morally with the other nations who pursue noble ideals and develop a sincere national friendship with them ?

VI. The Strife of Nations and its Morality.

It is a fact that war may have a beneficent effect in purifying society and evolving human culture. Accordingly it has been said : " Alles entsteht durch

[1] Cf. W. Hueckel, *Kaempfe und Siege des Christentums in Japan*, S. 13.

den Streit" ("All things spring from strife"), and "Der Krieg ist der Vater aller Dinge" ("War is the father of all things"). But that beneficent effects may follow from war is no reason for assigning war as the only factor capable of developing civilisation, for considering that war must necessarily be encouraged, or for believing it altogether impossible to do away with war. War is not a mechanical work of men acting under the will of some non-human being, but really occurs only from the human will to fight; and where men decide not to fight no war can be provoked. In the next place, if we consider war as indiscriminate fighting, it is devoid of morality, for the most important ideal element of war, a lofty motive, is lacking; and in present-day warfare the absence of such ideal always involves final disadvantage. Now it is a great defect in the ideal of national morality wholly to neglect to see what root relation its own morality has with the morality of other nations. Just as the morality of a nation, though not altogether the same as individual morality yet is never independent of it, so international morality (as regulating relations with foreigners) should not be confounded with national morality *per se*, yet is never dissevered from it. Thus as national morality is connected with that of the individual on the one hand, so it is also connected with international morality on the other; and all

three stand on the common grounds of moral principle, though in detail they are not quite the same. It follows, therefore, that a national egotism which ignores other nations—which adopts such principles as : " The State is self-sufficient ; " " The maintenance and development of its own power and well-being is the supreme principle of politics ; " " The State can only have regard to the interest of any other State so far as this can be identified with its own interest "—can never succeed in making a State truly fit for its place in the world. Doubtless it is highly important for any nation to consider how social evolution may best be secured, but attention has often been very one-sided in considering this matter. Two definite lines of evolution must be recognised : (1) evolution in the world of biological phenomena, which arises from conflicts of the strong preying on the weak ; and (2), on the other hand, spiritual evolution, which springs from the factors of self-sacrifice and mutual aid. Rivalries and conflicts are equally important in both cases, but in one the struggle is for goodness and beauty in the battle of social life. This higher ideal element plays a most important part in present-day contests between civilised peoples ; and the one-sided principle of fighting by mere force, the indiscriminating affirmation that " might is right," must be altogether rejected. What we thus learn from a broad

consideration of the evolutionary process is quite in accord with the Oriental doctrine of self-sacrifice, which has developed from the idea of the microcosm as opposed to the macrocosm, or from the conception of "man as being a child of heaven." With such sanctions, then, the doctrine of "love to God and love to man" should be regarded as the principle upon which international peace must be based. In other words, among the most important principles which any State should remember in its international relations are the following :—

1. Physical strength and intellect are not the only essentials for progressive human life, but also beauty and goodness.

2. Consequently the new ideal of international peace should be constructed not only on political and economic, but also on spiritual, that is, moral and religious, foundations ; and such foundations might well be claimed as the only worthy national principles and political ideals for every country.

Now with regard to the great problems which the present great war has proposed to the civilisation of the world, nothing could be more pressing than the question of international morality, originating from the idea of humanity, which has been developing in recent times. A most important feature of that morality is an appreciation of the freedom and dignity

of each nation, as we appreciate the freedom and dignity of individuals ; and, as a matter of course, if the attitude of disdaining other nations and ignoring small countries is to be revised, the principle of "To attack is the right of the strong," and the fundamental idea that "envy and hatred between nations are natural and right," must be given up in the future. And the people who have a higher civilisation and stronger traits of character, government, position, etc., should not use these advantages for selfish ends, but endeavour to contribute to others according to their ability. This is merely the quality of self-restraint, which must not be lacking if the strong is to continue to maintain his qualification as a superior. As the Oriental saying has it :—

"The superior man does not exhaust himself ; that is how he attains completeness."

Accordingly, the nation which progresses itself, and at the same time appreciates the value of the individuality of other nations, approaches that spirit of reverence for others which Goethe regards as the essence of religion—a spirit, indeed, which makes the first requirement of an international morality concerned with a wider humanity. And as nations come into closer contact and feel more the necessity of understanding one another's conditions, and in proportion as the intercourse becomes rapid in

succession, it is clear that they ought to rid themselves not only of prejudices but also of the indifference and the aloofness which have marked the foreign relations of the Great Powers—England is not blameless in this respect—up to the present time. And it need hardly be said that such a general cultivation of friendship among the nations, by removing the causes of friction which arise from the lack of mutual understanding, would powerfully demonstrate that international peace depends not so much upon diplomacy as upon international morality.

If that were so, and yet nations found themselves unavoidably at war, they should nevertheless observe morality, even in conflict, and fight "fairly and squarely," in the manner known in the East as "Bushido" (The way of Samurai), or "Kunshi no Arasoi" (The conflict of true gentlemen—"clean fighting"). It ought to be a matter of course that morality should rule both the aims and the means of war. And when for the sake of Justice and Freedom war becomes inevitable, every nation should consider the enemy's case impartially, as a judge, appreciating the good points of their foes even while combating their faults; hating their failings, but not necessarily hating their people. Any nation can only secure "the moral compensation of war" by advancing after war into a new kind of life, in the new

light of this international morality. If war simply rouses the mutual hatred and hostile feelings of nations, and does not lead them to deep heart-searchings, it can have no other effect than sowing seed for another war, it can never lift the world to a higher spiritual plane than that of the present.

THE REAL JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

It is a fact that hitherto Japan has been misunderstood alike in peace and in war. But the real Japan and the Japanese themselves, as they were and are, alone can truly explain themselves whether by peace or war; and nothing else but this explanation can suggest to the world the actual problems of Japan, whether present or future. In general, interest in Japan has been roused chiefly by her wars with Continental Powers, yet he who loves truth should not rest content with observing it externally and superficially, but should do his utmost to penetrate deep beneath superficial conditions to the inner consideration of the spiritual life and ideals of the Japanese people.

I. Present-day Japan Viewed in a Spiritual Light.

Now, it hardly needs emphasis that those who wish to understand other nations as they actually are must reject partial views arising from their own

preconceptions, and fully recognise what the nation is in its entirety by OBSERVATIONS ON THE MATERIAL AND THE SPIRITUAL. To consider a civilisation, even on its material side, in regard to its special natural environment, the temperament of the people, their social conditions and systems, etc., is neither simple nor easy. However, as material things are more easily perceived, they have been generally more observed by foreigners, while observation of the spiritual and the more hidden has been seriously neglected.

To speak comparatively of the two: while that concerning the civilisation on its material side has to a great extent come from foreign countries, that concerning the civilisation in its mental and spiritual aspects has largely developed from purely native sources. And if we further subdivide observation on the mental and spiritual side, we shall find that while what concerns the intellectual has comparatively been greatly affected by foreign influences, whilst on the other hand what concerns the spiritual —religion or morality—has largely developed on the basis of the purely native spirit. Though Japanese mental civilisation is of course made up of both elements, what may be termed its special character has been rather spiritual than intellectual. And yet, this is just what has been most ignored by foreign critics; therefore anyone who wishes to observe

modern Japan with the eyes of to-day should with the utmost care re-examine the real nature of the spirit of Japan. Anyone who tries to trace modern Japan to its origin, by casting his eyes back to its remotest history, will be compelled to see how long that history has been developing, meeting many difficult tests, yet maintaining its spiritual unity through all. But what has appeared vivid in its history in many cases of national affliction, or meeting special needs as these have arisen during its long history, does not constitute the whole of the spirit of Japan. Just as the water of a river, which flowing continually along its bed, throws up bubbles from below to the surface, so the spirit of Japan has its hidden reality, that is THE LATENT SPIRIT IN JAPAN beneath its historical foam. The spirit is the source whence, for more than 2,500 years, Japanese history has developed; and Japanese military activities in recent wars, the awakening of "slumbering energy," are nothing other than a manifestation of this spirit. It will be plain, then, that if we really wish to understand the national life and endeavour of the Japanese, we must consider in detail its latent spirit as well as its manifested energy, because the former is the origin of their living moral and religious power, not only in the past and present, but also we are bound to conclude that it will be so in the future. Hitherto people who

have given any attention to the spirit of Japan have been prone to note the national readiness, in recent times, to imitate and apply Western learning and institutions, or they immediately settle Japan's place in the world according to her military prowess. But THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENTS WHICH ASSIGN JAPAN HER PLACE IN THE WORLD lie really in the moral and religious training by which she has continuously evolved her ideal from the very first. Her material civilisation is not what Japan can rely upon ; fighting power is not a sufficient ground of confidence for her. What Japan really can rely upon, and ought to be proud of, indeed, is the unresting endeavour and activity with which her people evolve themselves morally and religiously towards their nobler ideals.

As soon as Japan, which until recent times had been nearly cut off from other foreign countries, once had her dream broken by the sudden crowding in of external relations through her opened ports, with springing energy fresh from her long rest she began her endeavours and activities in a thoroughly modern way on every side ; that is to say, in politics, economics, military affairs, the sciences, etc. At the same time, she has preserved and practised with scrupulous fidelity the principle of pure self-sacrifice inherited from ancient times. Nations generally are not great merely by virtue of having a material

ideal of the enrichment and military strengthening of the country. The real greatness of a country, we should remember, besides such ideals, lies in its possession of mighty virtues. Yet more important still, this goal is not to be achieved by entire indifference to foreign nations, by trying to be good alone; the essence of the higher ideals consists in the principle of considering not only one's own nationality, but at the same time of contributing to others for the sake of mutual happiness. That will be the ideal of a sound civilisation in the future if ever the nations are to stand in more and more intimate relations with one another. But the spirit of self-sacrifice which enables all nations to progress intellectually and ethically, whilst they are acting freely for their own sakes, at the same time unites them morally for mutual help, has been historically developed in Japan, and in spite of its almost furious modernisation, that old spirit has been followed unchanged, for the Japanese make much of their history; and there is good reason to believe that it will distinguish them in the future as well as in the present. This is a point which no one who wishes to know Japan intimately should fail to notice. To consider it a ferocious and crafty country is a misreading of its true character, based on shallow and one-sided observation—as would be also any misrepresentation of the significance of Japanese

fighting power and the rapid modernising changes that have occurred there. Excluding this fundamental misconception, the proper way to understand the real Japanese people is to make clear the special character of the spirit of Japan, which survives beyond the changes of the times, and also to learn the true Japanese estimation of this spirit.

II. The Psychology and Character of the Japanese Race.

If nations wish to have intercourse with one another as friendly countries, become intimate and helpful, and rise above their state of antipathy as natural enemies, like the wild beasts or savage races, though there may be some differences in their psychology, yet it is hardly necessary to say that they ought rightly to understand the psychology of one another through their natural environment, history, social and other special conditions. By considering now the racial characteristics as faithfully reflected in the manners, customs, traditions, and mythology—original spiritual products of the Japanese people—we shall discover THE TWO GREAT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RACIAL SPIRIT. The mythology of Japan is artistically enriched by the dualistically constructive

thought involved in the ideas of light and darkness, good and evil, violence and gentleness. This dualistic attitude is so deeply rooted in the racial thought that it naturally appears in the life and history of the Japanese as a striking love of paradox. To mention the most conspicuous features in their mentality :—

First, there is their kwan-yo-sei (tolerant generosity). This is revealed in their mental search for variety, in their endeavour to take in different elements; and this historical fact is too obvious to need further elucidation. What is too often lost sight of is the psychological faculty revealed by the free and bold indulgence of their many-sided spiritual appetite. And their vigorous, active, springing, vivid life is probably the result not only of their custom of loving Nature, but really of the creative impulse fostered by contact with many different factors and by taking in various elements—that is, by applying successfully the method of refreshing life by touching life at as many different points as possible.

Secondly, there is their dokwa-sei (assimilative nature) acting powerfully and constantly. They do not take in foreign elements indiscriminately, but select and digest them till they become a part of their nature. This assimilative power is strikingly illustrated in their historical development, which shows an unbroken sequence of progress and illumination

derived from Chinese, Indian and Western civilisations, each of which has consecutively in turn contributed a material product which has been Japanised.

These two mental characteristics (the tolerant and the assimilative), being originally different from each other—the former producing the complex, the latter the simple, the former expanding, the latter concentrating—create a curious dualistic faculty in the mind of the Japanese people. Their love of paradox, as represented by inclusion and assimilation, has the power of self-preservation, on the one hand, and, on the other, of making easy reconciliation and union with other peoples. The fact that both the centrifugal and centripetal activities are found in the mind of the Japanese people accounts for the unquenchable, progressive spirit with which they unswervingly and vigilantly pursue their ideal.

One of the most striking phases of the racial character which may throw light on this consideration is what may be called THE POSITIVE HELIOTROPISM OF THE JAPANESE RACE. It is most obvious, on putting the character of the Japanese people to the test, that they have a racial heliotropism —a constant tendency towards the sun (ko-jitsu-sei). It is not without significance that, among other natural phenomena, the sun has been a prominent

object of worship[1] among the Japanese from the so-called divine age, and this worship early gave birth to a magnificent mythology in which the sun was regarded not only as the power blessing Nature, giving life to everything, and as the source of light and heat, but also as the symbol of truth, goodness, and beauty, in so far as those ideals could be manifested by means of it. Accordingly, while the worship of the sun aided the development of their ideal of truth, goodness, and beauty, the sun also symbolised more and more the evolution of the original racial character of turning always to the sunshine—a convinced optimism—a constant habit of looking on the bright side of things. Again, in spite of their appreciation of a disposition calculating and alert—called out, as some say, by their frequent association with volcanoes and earthquakes—yet their predominant characteristics are a love of frank truthfulness, for what is simple and innocent, straightforward and unpretentious. Further, the ancestral love of purity is shown in the cleansing (often ceremonially) of pollutions by natural elements, driving away impurities by wind, and by bathing in the sea-tide or flowing river, indicating that they appreciate cleanness and singleness of heart, as opposed to impurity and corruption; this is to seek not only the

[1] Cf. M. Revon, *Le Shinntoisme* p. 77; O. Nachod, *Geschichte von Japan*, vol. i., S. 113.

purification of the body but at the same time that of the spirit, according to the idea which regards sin and pollution as one and the same thing. Lastly, those who know best the beautiful poetic element in the Japanese island-life, and the part it has played in Japanese history, will be most aware how impossible it is that they should fall into a sheer realism which is opposed to the æsthetic ideals so strongly expressed by the national flag—the symbol of the Sun.

From a consideration of the facts above mentioned, we see how the characteristic turning to the sunshine is generally reflected in Japanese manners and customs, temperament and taste, etc. Above all, their love of cherry blossoms—of which most foreigners apparently fail to understand the true reason—is really because these blossoms, refreshing and so emblematic of purity, are naturally akin to the taste and character of the Japanese people, and easily satisfy their æsthetic perceptions. So we find in an ode of Motoöri Norinaga (a well-known Shinto scholar, 1730–1801 A.D.) :—

"Shiki-shima no yamato-gokoro wo hito towa ba,
Asahi ni nihofu yamazakura-bana."

("Should anyone ask me what the spirit of Japan is like, I would point to the blossoms of the wild cherry-tree bathing in the rays of the morning sun.") [1]

[1] Y. Okakura, *The Japanese Spirit*, p. 112.

The spirit of the Japanese loves such innocent and refreshing spontaneity of beauty, and this taste represents simply and plainly the character of the people who are fond of saying what might be translated: "Be cheerful;" "Live sunnily;" "Make the best of your life." If this be really so, their ideal, developing from the ancient devout worship of the Sun, finally comes into line with the inner feeling which makes conscience the sun of the heart, or seeks the Sun within the "heavenly garden of the heart," as Shinto scholars expressed it. Or as the German lines say:—

"Hab' Sonne im Herzen,
Ob's stuermt oder schneit,
Ob der Himmel voll Wolken,
Die Erde voll Streit!
Hab' Sonne im Herzen,
Dann komme was mag!
Das leuchtet voll Licht dir
Den dunkelsten Tag!
Hab' ein Lied auf den Lippen,
Mit fröhlichen Klang,
Und macht auch des Alltags
Gedraenge dich bang!

. . . . .

Hab' ein Lied auf den Lippen,
Verlier nie den Mut,
Hab' Sonne im Herzen,
Und alles wird gut!"

" Possess the sun within thy heart,
In midst of storm and snow ;
E'en if the heavens are full of clouds,
And earth has strife and woe.
Possess the sun within thy heart,
Then let there come what may,
There will be light within thy soul,
E'en on the darkest day.
Possess a song upon thy lips,
And sing it all aglow,
The song will turn the dreary day
To sunshine—melt the snow.

. . . . .

Possess a song upon thy lips,
And courage ne'er let go,
Possess the sun within thy heart,
And all will smoothly flow."

If, then, this natural turning to the sunshine is one of their most conspicuous traits, to consider their character as generally cunning or crafty is nothing but a dogmatism based on biased views about the psychology of other nations which naturally arises from men's reluctance to understand the position of others.

It follows that anyone who really wishes to understand the rather daring free activities of the Japanese, their cult of honour and intrepidity—however subtle their motives may seem—should never be discouraged from investigating the other side, namely their equally ardent love of honesty and impartiality.

III. The Morality and Religion of the Japanese Nation.

How could the Japanese nation take in foreign elements and differentiate them, yet without being perplexed by them; but, on the contrary, by assimilating them with her own qualities, turn them nto a practical power and thus develop her organically united national spirit? Anyone who desires to answer this question should, first of all, pay deep attention to the inner life of the Japanese, and understand their national morality and religion as manifestations of the nation's original spirit.

THE REALISING LIFE OF THE JAPANESE NATION. In Japan, "Koto-age se nu kuni," "the unpretentious country," as she has been called, practice was considered from the first more important than theory, and there is evidence that the people went almost to an extreme in this respect, when as a nation they were forming their traditional motto concerning this principle. Because they are not pretentious, it is difficult for foreigners to know the truth about spiritual Japan; and what people very often look at with cold eyes of neglect has been just the very essence of the inner life of the nation. We should, then, try to understand the strength as well as the weakness of the spiritual deeps of their nature; and

this we can do by seeing the ideal secretly followed and yet not expressed, in their pragmatic tendency towards deed rather than word, and in trying to find out hidden meanings from realised achievements and facts and not from mere abstract theories. Various forms and systems of Oriental mental and spiritual culture are performed in Shinto, Bushido, and other cults as a means of cultivating practical ability. Such cults insist on a thorough drilling of the body, on securing unity of mind and body, on educational training given to the spirit, etc. The effect of cultivating thus various forms of practical ability has been enormous, though foreigners usually fail to perceive it. What they fail to recognise is that this practical method is not a mere conventionalism, making light of the ideal, but is the ardent, positive principle of desiring to prove absolutely, by deed, the truth of what the Japanese believe to be right or good. Following this principle, and acquiring the actual substance of their ideal bit by bit, they have developed in their spiritual life the characteristics of their morality and belief.

THE FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL MORALITY AND RELIGION. Now, the morality and belief of a nation are woven into the fabric of the inner life peculiar to that nation, according to its natural environment, history, society, temperament, etc. In considering this guiding principle of the Japanese nation, what

should most claim attention is the fact that the lives of the people as individuals and as a nation are so closely connected and fused that the whole nation being in complete spiritual agreement has greatly developed the virtue of co-operation in their corporate life. So we can see the two-fold combination of their spiritual life—the social and the genealogical—evolving into a nation ; each individual not merely uniting with others socially as a nation, but also as fathers and descendants united in time by ancestor-worship and making up one line spiritually. This is the reason why they are relatively valorous when they are combined, in spite of their peaceableness as individuals, a fact often remarked on by foreigners. Here we have the real psychological foundation of the solidarity of Japan. And what is especially worthy of attention is the fact that, on the one hand, in spite of ideas of rights and liberty, and the dignity and value of the individual recently coming to prevail under the influence of European thought, still, on the other hand, the original principle of pure self-sacrifice is no less now than formerly an essential element of the Japanese spirit. This principle of self-sacrifice or unselfishness, which is the root of sincere loyalty and free, willing obedience, is the power which inspires them. Therefore, though to-day they are apt to be involved in the clouds of suspicion, and to be considered by

others subtle and crafty, anyone who impartially investigates the foundation of their morality and belief will not find it difficult to perceive that the common basis of their morality and belief is essentially the same as his own, and will indeed recognise the truth of the saying: "Light is good in whatever lamp it is burning. A rose is beautiful in whatever garden it may bloom. A star has the same radiance if it shines in the East or in the West."

Thus, then, though the national morality and religion of Japan have elements peculiar to themselves, they do not necessarily contradict universal moral and religious principles. It is obvious that nations as well as individual men, while agreeing with one another in their essential nature, may yet develop national as well as individual qualities peculiar to themselves and relieve the world from monotony by playing a distinctive part in the concord of humanity. To speak of acting in concert with one another does not imply an agreement which destroys the special nature and character of each country, but should be the effect of a successful evolution of the special nature and character of each country. Every country evolving its individual values as a nation should contribute to other friendly nations, as red and blue, for example, contribute their peculiar qualities of colour to the beauty of

nature. So this ideal is not anti-national after all; it is international. But there is one thing of which every people should be most careful: while it is right that every country should appreciate its own nationality at its full value, there is a great danger here in inferring the general from the particular. For this would prevent paying due heed to others, and while naturally leading to ignorance of other countries, would at the same time forbid true self-understanding in relation to other nations. The great necessity is to view correctly one's own country from a world-wide standpoint in its relation to others. Therefore, every country should consider its political ideals and national principles in this light, seeking the wider and firmer spiritual foundations which will assuredly establish a new patriotism based on a full recognition both of national and international claims and relations. Is there on all the horizon of the future a problem of graver moment than the relation of nationalism and internationalism? But what alone will make the solution possible is that every nation should form a new conception of its fellows; first of all learning to understand them spiritually, and thus finding the common bond which lies at the root of the different thoughts and beliefs of all peoples.

APPENDICES

I. Works of Reference on Bushido in European Languages.

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   This contains also the "*Boshin*" *Imperial Rescript,* and is authorised by the Department of Education of Japan.

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4. *Le Bushido,* by Marquis de la Mazelière. Paris (privately printed).

5. *The Japanese Spirit,* by Y. Okakura. London, 1909.

   This book supplies good material concerning Bushido as well as Shinto, with an Introduction by George Meredith.

6. *Bushido,* by H. Moore. Croydon, 1913.

7. *The Story of Old Japan*, by J. H. Longford. London. 1910.

The Mythology of Japan and historical stories concerning Bushido and the Feudal Systems are given in this book. See also the same author's Article on "The Spirit of Japan," in *The Spirit of the Allied Nations*, edited by Sidney Low. London, 1915.

8. *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, by I. Nitobé.

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In 1901 this book was translated by E. Kaufmann into German, under the title *Bushido : Eine Darstellung des Japanischen Geistes*. See also the same author's *The Japanese Nation*. New York and London, 1912.

9. Among the journals containing articles on Bushido the following are worthy of notice :—

(*a*) "Bushido, the Japanese Ethical Code," by A. Stead, in the *Monthly Review*. London, 1904.

(*b*) "Bushido in its Relation to Women," by S. Ballard, in *The East and the West*. London, 1906.

(*c*) "Zur Psychologie der Japaner ; Die Japanische Volksseele ; Über den Kriegerischen Geist und die Todesverachtung der Japaner, by E. Baelz in the *Deutsche Japanpost*. Yokohama, 1903–5.

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2. *The Development of Religion in Japan*, by G. W. Knox. New York and London, 1907.

   This book makes up the six series of the American Lectures on the History of Religions.

3. *The Religions of Japan from the Dawn of History to the Era of Meiji*, by W. E. Griffis. Fourth Edition. New York, 1901.

   This work consists of a collection of Lectures delivered on the Morse Foundation in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Also see the same author's *Mikado's Empire*. Sixth Edition. New York, 1891.

4. *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, by Lafcadio Hearn. London and New York, 1904.

   The Ancient Cult, the Religion of the Home, the Development of Shinto, the Religion of Loyalty, etc., are included in the contents.

5. *Le Shinntoisme*, by M. Revon. Paris, 1907.

This volume is to be highly recommended.

6. *Japanische Mythologie*, by Karl Florenz. Tokyo, 1901.

See also the same author's Article on "Der Shintoismus" in the *Kultur der Gegenwart*, edited by Paul Hinneberg. Leipzig und Berlin, 1913.

7. *Religion der Japaner*, by Hans Haas. Jena, 1914.

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8. *Shinto, die Volksreligion Japans*, by Emil Schiller. Berlin, 1911.

Such aspects in Shinto as Natural Religion, Emperor-Worship, Ancestor-Worship, Hero-Worship, Polytheism, etc., are treated in this book.

9. *Occult Japan; or The Way of the Gods*, by P. Lowell. Boston, 1895.

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10. *The Temples of the Orient and their Messages*, by E. A. Gordon. London, 1905.

This contains many important allusions to Shinto.

11. Transactions of the Japan Society.

The Nihongi, translated by W. G. Aston. London, 1896.

12. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

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13. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.*

Nihongi, German translation by Karl Florenz, 1892–97.

14. Miscellaneous books and articles concerning Shinto by many other eminent scholars, such as Spinner, Weipert, Witte, Nachod, Lloyd, Buckley, Murray, Brinkley, Count Goblet D'Alviella, etc., are generally valuable. Among the periodicals which often bear on the subject are the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, *T'oung Pao*, and *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, etc.

15. *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*, by Fr. von Wenckstern. 2 vols. Tokyo, 1895–1907.

The two volumes give a classified list of books and essays in European languages relating to Japan, including a facsimile reprint of Léon Pagès' Bibliographie Japonaise.

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